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Whole No. 229.

Comrades, you have heard the old saw that speaks of "killing two birds with one stone"—this matter of the union secretaries' fund is that kind of an apparatus. From such off-site points of the compass as Reading, Pa., and Denison, Tex., come the reports of the Central Trade and Labor Councils endorsing Socialism. What do you suppose did it? Literature!

Brother Gompers, in his campaign for the "pure and simple" policy, and the "Fizzle Federation," fears nothing so much as the systematic distribution of literature by the Socialists among the union bodies.

The elements of disunion now at work within the A. F. of L. must be counteracted by the careful and unremitting efforts of the Socialists, in order to save Trade Unionism to the labor world.

The capitalists are organizing a systematic campaign to destroy the unions, and nothing but the education of union men in the principles of the class conscious struggle is going to make it possible to hold them together in the coming struggle with capital. "Education" is the watchword. The printing press makes it possible, and as long as Mr. Madden lets us send the Herald through the mails, there is nothing so cheap and effective as sending this paper to the union secretaries.

Save the unions, and agitate for Socialism! Send in your money, and the paper goes right away to as many secretaries as you make possible.

It is a hard business deal, indeed, that the miners are forced to make with their money-hungry employers. The coal barons, when John Mitchell feels forced to say, when asked to name a sum that would represent living wages for the people he represents, that six hundred dollars a year would be about the needed amount. It is an affront to our boasted American citizenship, an affront to our aspirations as the nation's greatest power, that six hundred dollars a year is adequate to keep an American family going and enable it to produce the new crop of citizens on which the world must depend. And what kind of a commission is it that can sit unmoved when such a standard of living is suggested by the spokesman of the "grasping" poor.

It costs the city of Detroit, which has a municipal lighting plant, \$99,004.62 a year to light her streets, the number of lights used being 2042 and 6348 incandescent lights. It costs Milwaukee, who lets private corporations do the work, \$212,506 to light her streets, and she has 325 less lights than Detroit. The people of Milwaukee, in other words, pay out over a million dollars a year, yet what they get for it, in order that the corporation can make their graft out of the city. And worse still, the Sentinel is already feeling out, editorially, in favor of letting the street railway monopoly have the city lighting contract!

The doctrine of Anarchism in its essential purity is the most beautiful social theory ever constructed. It removes, in theory, of course, from the path of every human being all obstacles to the attainment of perfect content and happiness. It aims to accomplish exactly what the world needs, but to bring about this result it would adopt a system diametrically opposed to that proposed by the Socialists. Anarchism advocates the abolition of all government, law, society, property, religion and the distinction between right and wrong. They would make each individual a law unto himself and permit him to choose for himself that which he would consider to be for his interests and to take it after having made his choice. Socialists, on the other hand, would strengthen the government, giving it the power to keep the peace, to regulate sources of production and DOING OUT TO INDIVIDUALS under conditions fixed by itself such articles of comfort and necessity as it may deem fit to distribute to the individual's advantage. Anarchism makes the individual supreme; Socialism strips the individual of power, if not of identity, in order that the state may become powerful. And, to be sure, the Socialists are seeking human happiness—Sentinel.

Some time ago the Sentinel of Milwaukee said that Socialism was a beautiful theory. Then it shifted its ground and called it slavery. Now it is anarchy that is the beautiful theory! But we quote the above to show the wonderful conception of Socialism held by the Sentinel. What it presents is an intolerable paternalism, owning everything and "doing out" what it itself thinks the people ought to have. The tendency of the times is toward democracy. Paternalism is NOT democracy, as the Sentinel doubtless knows. The Sentinel is a false teacher, and false teachers are criminals.

We have no quarrel with the law of the land, the law of the Socialists. We know it is an inevitable law and must be reckoned with. And it is just because it must be reckoned with that we are determined to change the conditions under which the people must live and win their bread. Under bad conditions only bad men can hope to survive. We want good conditions so that good men can have a chance. Or, in other words, we want good conditions so that men can afford to be good. Do you see the point?

Man is by nature a social animal. Today in this country men are organized on a basis of political equality. Industrially, work is carried on socially. But economically, the condition of mastership and slavery prevails. To secure right relations industry carried on by social effort should be social also in the matter of its ownership. Then, and not until then, can man claim that this is a country of the free and equal.

"The minister of justice of the Kingdom of Spain—a member of the cabinet and recent formal public address, made a proposal to prohibit marriages between persons who were not pronounced healthy by medical authority. Suggestions of the sort have been made in other countries, but this is the first occasion on which they have been taken up in Europe by high officials. The minister proposes first, to increase the minimum age for marriage, which is now 14 years for boys and 12 for girls, and to prohibit consanguineous marriages altogether.—N. Y. Sun.

It is hardly an overstatement to say that the majority of the people who marry in this country, rich or poor, are not in normal health, and it is but stating a truth to say that this is because of the conditions under which people must maintain themselves under the capitalist system, the poor being diseased and broken down by factory and other wage work conditions, the rich by their gluttony and dissipation and acceleration of their economic victory over their fellowmen. But mainly, it is the working class that suffers in health by conditions. Under a perfect state where every person would have the chance to be sound physically such a law as that proposed above would be a recognition of the right of the future generations to be well born. But under present conditions it would deprive a possible majority of the people of the right to establish their own home—even poor houses are better than none—and to live up to the unwritten laws of the complete human creature. Laws to prevent those suffering with extreme cases of disease would be humane and proper, of course. But an all-including law would be a beginning at the wrong end, and therefore wrong and futile.

WE DEMAND THE APPOINTMENT OF RECEIVERS FOR THE COAL MINES, AS A TEMPORARY RELIEF, AND ULTIMATE OWNERSHIP OF THE COAL FIELDS BY THE GOVERNMENT.

The above was a demand made by the Knights of Labor, and it represented the sensible, up-to-date view, but alas! it is the capitalists who are in possession of the government in this country. If you please, and they have interests opposite to those of the common crowd.

The Failure of Home Rule in America—Father Hagerty's Views.

"I have received a number of inquiries from Irishmen in this country about my letter in the Dublin Workers' Republic and I want to sharpen the things which I said in that letter. My parents were born in Ireland; and I am truest to their memory when I say that Socialism is the only remedy not only for Ireland, but also for the down-trodden race of man in every part of the world.

We have home rule in America; and what has it done for the great mass of common people? You will find the answer in the slums of our big cities, in the sweat shops, in the glass factories, and among the "hounded" body slaves of the common folk. As wage-slaves the condition of our workmen is little better than that of their fellows on the continent. We have in America practically the same unequal distribution of the earth's treasures as that which obtains in every stronghold of capitalism. The average Irishman, as very wealthy; but as a country, Ireland, is the poorest. In the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, a capitalist paper, the "prosperity" now so marked does not benefit a large number of people. In fact, a large number of men and women working on salary wages are actually worse off than before wages were raised. That is especially true of women." (November 26, 1902.)

The director of charities of the city of Cleveland, O., Harris R. Cooley, said in an interview last week: "There is a question which involves the fundamental causes of the degradation of young lives. Here, for example, is a series of facts. The official state report of the bureau of labor statistics for 1902. The summary for the cities of Cleveland, Columbus,

When the railroads go into politics overtly the people generally see it, as they did in Wisconsin this fall. But the people are not yet the winners, the railroads are in politics secretly all the time. The owners of their stock sit in the halls of legislation, while those legislators who are not owners of stock, eventually succumb to the will of the lobbyist who is in the pay of the railroads. There is no relief for the people in sight, that deserves the name. What little legislation they may get on the surface will be simply to throw dust in their eyes. The farmers as long as they throw their strength to putting capitalist parties in power will lose the best part of their crops to the transportation companies and their ent-throat tariffs, while city folks will have to pay for their provender what it costs the farmers to raise it, plus the big fat rates of the companies.

The following article is taken entire from the Chicago Tribune of current date, and it forms a significant and convincing indictment of capitalism as need be asked for. Out of their own mouths are they condemned, these capitalists, and certainly no "culmination of negations" could paint the picture of the hopelessness of capitalism as completely.

The testimony given by this officer of the poor shows what the Socialists have maintained: That the present boasted prosperity is a capitalist prosperity, in which the workers cannot hope to share. Under it, as the testimony here given shows, the poor are ground down worse than ever.

"As prosperity increases the hardships of poverty increase proportionally. Prosperity raises prices, but does not raise wages of washerwomen and scrub-women, of day laborers. The present winter promises to test the resources of Chicago's charities to their utmost. Added to the high prices demanded for food is the high price demanded for coal."

In these words, Ernest P. Bicknell, superintendent of the Chicago bureau of charities, summed up the situation in Chicago. He spoke yesterday before the department of philanthropy of the Catholic Woman's National League, his subject being "The Recurrent Aim in Charity."

"If we have an old-fashioned winter," said the speaker, with reference to the fuel situation, "the hardships from cold weather in Chicago will be greater than in years past. Already we have had a larger demand for fuel than is usual so early in the winter, which would indicate that the demand during the winter will increase steadily as the cold weather increases."

"Even soft coal is much higher than it has been in years. It is an odd condition that compels those who can least afford it to pay the highest prices for coal. The fact that the poor are forced to purchase fuel by the basketful makes them bear the heaviest burden of the suffering resulting from the famine in fuel. Last year baskets of coal cost from 15 to 25 cents, this year the price is from 25 to 35 cents. Out of fifty or sixty coal dealers visited by the agents of the bureau of charities only two were found who sold any kind of coal at 20 cents a basket."

To sickness and death of the natural family bread winner, Supt. Bicknell attributes the destitution of a large majority of the dependents in Chicago. He said:

"The average family found in destitution, in a state of discouragement and resignation to their lot of poverty, can almost invariably be traced back to one cause—sickness and death. There is sickness, then, destitution, then, death, and there is sickness, death, and doctor bills afterwards, followed by utter destitution. The widow is left with a large family and the result is dependence."

The above ought to remove the element of doubt from the mind of the man not quite reconciled to Socialism's indictment of the capitalist system. It comes from an authority and is given publicly by an ultra-capitalist newspaper. It puts the inprovidence of the capitalist system as beyond doubt.

And this very pertinent question presents itself, and we challenge the capitalist press to answer:

How can the working class, in any way, prepare for the coming crisis? How can they by any possibility lay up any kind of reserve to meet the coming storm—which, whether it comes this year, as Capitalist J. J. Hill claims, or the next, will surely come—how can they meet the coming storm?

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and Cincinnati gives the following statement gathered from personal interviews with nearly seven thousand workmen of these cities: The average cost of living is \$5.24 per week, and the average cost of coal is 25 cents. On a page of the report taken at random, which gives the condition of thirty-eight women wage-workers in Cleveland, twelve of them were earning \$3.00 per week and less, and six of them were earning \$2.00 per week and less. If we are to be horrified, and rightfully so, by that which causes the ruin of one life, what shall we feel and say of the injustice and wrong which ruins a hundred lives? To those who are permitted to see it, the tragedy of our modern industrial and social system is appalling."

All this, mark you, in a country enjoying—on paper—the highest measure of home rule! This same degradation of young lives, this same cheapening of men's bodies and souls in the markets of capital is shown in the testimony before the anthracite commission in Pennsylvania. Answering a question propounded by Judge Gray Rev. Mr. T. J. Connelley, a capitalist paper, the "prosperity" now so marked does not benefit a large number of people. In fact, a large number of men and women working on salary wages are actually worse off than before wages were raised. That is especially true of women." (November 26, 1902.)

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To be permitted to work long hours in order to live, is an ideal of life too gross and miserable to deserve a place in the minds of men. We Socialists want the work of the world so systematized and apportioned that there will be leisure and plenty and enjoyment for all, tempered by a sufficiency of employment to conserve bodily and mental health, and yet able, with the burden of toil resting on machinery, to keep society's storehouse lavishly stocked.

It was beautiful to notice how simultaneously the capitalist papers all over the country blossomed out with editorials demanding that the labor unions incorporate. They rang the changes on the scheme without missing a note. If the unions will only incorporate, so the capitalists can tap their treasuries in time of strikes by means of the capitalist courts and capitalistic laws, how nice it would be!

Capitalism a Self-Confessed Failure.

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is permitted to earn. The coal monopoly, working under an iron-clad agreement, absorbs the great profits and hides them away under tricky bookkeeping, by which 40 per cent. or more of the selling price of coal disappears as freight charges—paid by the monopoly to itself. These charges are wildly unreasonable. Meanwhile the miner is permitted to dig when the mine is not shut down by agreement, making a bare living. He costs so little that the coal monopoly does not have to improve its methods. It can continue to use obsolete machinery and do its work in a wasteful manner because men are so cheap."

As I have pointed out elsewhere, the official reports of Massachusetts, one of the wealthiest states in the union, reveal the fact that 25 per cent. of men engaged in eighty-eight classes of wealth-producing have an income less than \$8 the week. In other terms, one-fourth of the population of that state live on less than \$30 the month. From this paltry sum there must be deducted the wages lost in times of commercial depression, strikes, lockouts, sickness, or accident. With the utmost thrift and management, then, the laborer and his family cannot live on such wages in half the comfort which his employer's horse enjoys in the stable. The cheapest unfurnished rooms for an average family of five will cost at least \$2 the week; fuel and lights at the lowest calculation, 50 cents; and food of the coarsest kind \$4 the week—leaving 50 cents for shoes, clothes, books, recreation and the many luxuries. No margin remaining for births, sickness and death. And yet—We have home rule in America.

I do not question the sincerity and patriotism of the gallant men who are

fighting for home rule in Ireland; but, in the face of its overwhelming failure in America, I repeat that it is a clumsy makeshift and that as a remedial measure it means simply the transference of the seat of exploitation from Westminster to Dublin.

Home rule would not give the workers the full produce of their toil. Profit, interest and rent—the means whereby the few now live off the sweat and bled hopes of the many—would still hold sway in the industries of Ireland. The iron law of wages would not—may, could not—be abrogated by home rule under a capitalist form of society. In other words, the workers would continue to be robbed of all their earnings above that which is barely sufficient for their subsistence and for the propagation of other wage slaves when their own usefulness shall have ended in the treadmill of capital.

It is true that home rule would give home capitalists more direct control of the home markets; but it would not solve the great problems of bapinean for the proletariat. Indeed, no half measures will accomplish that purpose. (One may not trifle with a cancer. The only right procedure in such a case is complete removal down to the last root so that not the slightest vestige remains of the giant epithelial cells have been waxing big at the expense of the entire organism. Reform will not suffice. If you do not wholly eradicate it, a cancer will readily re-form. We must have a thorough wiping out of capitalism and a genuine construction of Socialism before Ireland can be free and humanly come forth from the prison bounds of squalor, hunger, misery and shame.

There is no such distress in Germany that they are cutting up dogs for food. People starving in the sight of plenty—people idle and anxious to produce wealth, but held back by conditions imposed by the capitalist system. It is about time our civilization was civilized.

A healthy body nourishes every part, or, if it fails, sickness results. Society is not healthy or normal until every member is above want.

People are actually dying as a result of the coal famine. Your brothers, your fellow creatures, your neighbors whom you should love as yourself, are being killed off by capitalism in the most cowardly and awful manner. Can you stand by unmoved and can you withhold the force of your might, little or great, from the battle to end this great man-crushing system?

Do you realize that this paper gives you gilt-edge propaganda matter as fast as you are not a fighter as you might be if you are not putting it into the hands of strangers to the movement? Order a bundle each week.

At last the Associated Press has waked up with regard to the Massachusetts municipal elections. Still ignoring the fact that the Socialists carried Brockton and just missed success in Haverhill, it figures that the vote fell off a few hundred as compared with that cast for governor. This discrepancy was due, of course, to certain local issues that figured in the municipal campaign. In nineteen cities of the state the Socialists polled a total of 10,869 votes.

Some of the leading athletes of the present day maintain that the best records are made by men who subsist on a fruit and grain diet, even those known as vegetarians. There is likely to be a wave in favor of fruit, grains and nuts as a regular diet, and the mischief of it is that these articles are already controlled by capitalism and the prices manipulated for private profit. The way in which the fruit crop of the United States is controlled is a matter of course. Apples are scarce and high in the markets and yet vast numbers of them rot on the trees. The same with other fruits, under the vandal and profit-anxiety hands of the master class. The fruit of one state is bought up and sold at an inflated price, while the rest of the country at home much fruit is spoiled by attempts to hold it in cold storage, and so on. Even the street fruit vendors help to spoil this bounty of nature. In their attempt to escape loss from rotting fruit, they force the rotted fruits on their customers with the result that the good fruit is kept till it rots, and there you are! Its a wonderful system.

Today, a daily paper of Detroit has come out with an editorial endorsement of Socialism.

The Indiana supreme court has upheld the law which prohibits the weekly payment of wages. The law is construed to prevent the uses of promissory paper by employers in their efforts to evade weekly payments. Once in a while the mill of "justice" slips a cog and drops out something in labor's interest.

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Thomas J. Hagerty.

President Hill of the Northern Pacific sniffs a coming panic. It is amusing to hear those wise financiers talk. He says it is due to lack of confidence and the trouble in Venezuela. The wage system has nothing to do with it, of course! The fact that the people get less wages than they did ten years ago and are expected to pay double prices for all their necessities cuts no ice, of course! When a great financier opens his mouth, wisdom of the almost-pure article comes out—nil!

The coal trust is now engaged in absorbing into itself a nice little wad of the people's wealth by the extortionate price it has set for its coal. If the people thought they would escape paying for the miners' strike they were fools indeed.

The politeliars and candidates in this state, as required by law, are filing statements of their personal expenses for the campaign just past, and some interesting facts they bring to light. Passing over the statements of the Social Democratic candidates, who used no money to further their personal "candidatorial" interests, we come to the statement of Gov. La Follette. According to his schedule it cost him \$7738.77 to secure the reelection to the governorship. Now, seven thousand and odd dollars is a good deal of money. Not everyone is so well situated that he can afford to toss out seven thousand dollars to secure a two-year job that pays a yearly salary of \$5000. When a man's political career is nearly as much money to get elected as the office will bring him in as salary, the suspicion is strong that he proposes to get what he has spent back, ever and above the salary. And aside from this, if it costs a man seven thousand dollars to get elected, how much more will he spend where does the poor man come in? Where is the political equality? But let us pass to the "Democratic" candidate, Dave Hoese. He says his campaign cost him \$3200. We have our doubts. We have a strong suspicion that this is a very decided understatement. For Dave lavished money with a most prodigal hand—it was corporation money, doubtless, but still he lavished it—and the reports that came in to us showed that at nearly every point he touched with his campaign train of palaces, he left a big wad of bills to be used in "jolly up the boys," after the train had pulled out. If anyone ever tried to bribe the people into voting for him, he did. And everyone cannot be bribed with as cheap a thing as a toy rose, you know! And he visited several towns, leaving a big wad of bills to be used in "jolly up the boys," after the train had pulled out. 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Clubs of Three, \$1.25.

Edward Everett Hale on Collectivism.

An old-fashioned traveler, who thinks he knows his own country well, and especially his own country, finds himself on a comfortable, old-fashioned railway train, and he is in Massachusetts, on his way to his alma mater, Amherst College. He has just told the Sunday American, which he has read to the twenty-fourth page, and he says to himself, "This must be near their home," and he has his handkerchief ready to wave it as they pass Jabez Hinds' house. Hinds was his chum in college. He always does wave it as he goes by.

"Thirty-seven miles, Clinton station; forty miles, Boylston, here we are," he says. "Why, no? What is there? What is in there that wall? What are those things digging? Porter, what has become of West Boylston?"

The porter does not know; the brakeman does not know; the conductor comes along, and he intimates that old Mr. Bixby is a fool because he does not know that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts happened to want West Boylston, and took it.

The bodies of the dead in the graveyard were tenderly removed to St. John's Cemetery. The houses were moved or taken down, and a lake three or four miles long by two or three miles wide is to take the place of West Boylston.

Simply, a million people, more or less, wanted more water to drink, and to wash their carriage and to flush their sewers. They went to the state house and said they wanted it. "All right," said the Legislature, and as soon as the great dam is finished, say next April, the water which these million people need will be filling up the "Wachusett reservoir."

Concerning the Larger Troubles of the Poor.

Last week an evening paper told of the theft of a \$10,000 pearl necklace from a New York society woman, and a low deputy grieved she was at her loss.

What would the space writers do if they were not for the troubles of the rich? Every newspaper conveys the idea that it is only the rich that have joys and sorrows. The infinitely smaller emotions of the poor are not worth the notice of the general public. Such things as feelings, in fact, are only for those who can afford them.

The real truth, in this regard, is that the poor have much more sensitive feelings than the rich. Their senses have been blunted by satiety. They have not been everywhere and seen everything as the wealthy have. It takes less to give them pleasure and less to give them pain.

The men and women of the greatest wealth and highest "culture" are with few exceptions too lazy to have strong emotions of any kind. With them it is not "good form" to be human. From morning to night, in their endeavor to do the "proper thing," according to some Paris or London schedule. Just as their bodies are cramped and confined by tight shoes, corsets, high collars, etc., are their feelings and thoughts repressed by fashionable standards of conventionalities.

The man to whom life is not a perpetual dining room and parlor, but a workshop and cobble-stoned street—the ordinary man of the rank and file meets every now and then with troubles that are never made public, but which cause him intense and bitter suffering.

Think, for instance, of the gloomy desperation of a carpenter who has been out

of work for months, and who, when he has at last found one of those glorious things called jobs, finds that someone has stolen his kit of tools.

Think of the bitter reflections that surge into the mind of a poor Greek who has saved his pennies for months and has finally bought a push cart and a stock of apples, when some brutal truckman runs him down and wrecks his cart and applies a hopeless wreck upon the street.

Think of the suffering, which an outburst of tears can relieve, of the department store girl who has saved \$100 in over three years of health-breaking work, when she learns that the bank has failed and all her money gone.

Think of the mental desolation of the old, white-haired mechanic, whose savings have been melted away by sickness and misfortune, and who has been told by his employer that a younger man has been hired to take his job.

Such are the tragedies that happen every day. They are the common events of real life, and of a great deal more importance than the much chronicled events of the unreal life of fashion and luxury.

It is of such trifles, as we would call them, that the life of thousands is composed. An increase of 10 per cent. in rent or a decrease of 10 per cent. in wages always causes an inconceivable amount of suffering among the working people who are affected.

Some time let us hope, we shall have a press, and a pulp, and a Congress that shall not consider the luxuries of the few as of more consequence than the necessities of the many—that shall not give first place to the insatiable demands of those who already have more than they can enjoy, but to the needs of those who have always had less than they deserved.—H. N. CUNSON.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

Socialists constantly assert their belief in the speedy downfall of the present order, and the near advent of Socialism. There are many grounds, small and great, upon which we have our conclusions in this respect. The chief economic ground is that all the facts go to show that capitalism has reached the furthest term of its development. If it continues to exist it can only be by a series of artificial prolongations of its life through a suspension of that social development which in the normal course should effect its transformation into socialism, as it is difficult to see any further organic changes through which it can pass. We might point out as one of the signs of the end of capitalism, that it already being controlled more and more completely by its financial side, is its earlier and immature stages, it is the commercial aspect which is dominant; it is the merchant who travels from city to city to buy and sell and get paid mainly with raw materials, that is a typical representative of the capitalist. Beyond this stage was made either in antiquity or throughout the Middle Ages. During the subsequent development, the employer of labor, the manufacturer, became the "predominant partner" until, in the heyday of its vigor, throughout the great industry of the nineteenth century, the manufacturer, in other words, the industrial side of capitalism, controlled the whole system. Now at the opening of the Twentieth century, we see the supremacy of the old industrial capitalist in its turn threatened, and even more than threatened, by the more modern money—capitalist, of which the Rockefeller, the DuSlois, and the Pierpont Morgans are types. This domination of the financial side of capitalism over the commercial and industrial respectively, which means the domination of trusts and big combines, denotes the last stage of capitalism, and the final extinction of the last useful

function of the capitalist as the direct organizer and immediate supervisor of industrial processes. (The organization of the financial capitalist is of quite a different order.) The trust system obviously spells the reduction of the wealth of the world under the control of a few gigantic cosmopolitan capitalists and syndicates; and from this to the removal of these possessing money lords, and the taking of the world by democratic society organized to this end, is only a step.

But the foregoing, true as it may be, only refers to the material development, and Socialism is something more than an economic theory. Are we to understand, nevertheless, that Socialism is merely a material and material, and has no regard for the more ideal side of human interests?

By no manner of means. The Socialists recognize, far more than others, the higher ideals of human life as being its true end. But the Socialist, if he be worthy the name, refuses to be befuddled himself or to befool others, with rapid phrases about the securing of the material side of life, plain living and high thinking, and so on; he knows that to place mankind in a position to realize its higher aspirations, it is necessary to ignore these "spiritual" things in the present, largely bogus, form, and to direct his attention primarily to the securing of the—in theory, so much despised by those who have attained them—material ends of life, by material means. In the words of St. Paul, "That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die; and much of what now passes for the 'higher interests' will undoubtedly, to follow out the metaphor, have to be buried and die in the rich soil of new material conditions, before it can be quickened into real life, and blossom forth in the more perfect ideals of the future.—Quelch and Bax.

Individualism and Socialism.

The gospel of individualism is only half the truth; Socialism is the other half. There can be no true social relationship or brotherhood that is not based upon the full recognition of the absolute individuality and freedom of each member of that order, and which does not bend all the resources of the combined whole, in impartial ministry, to the perfection of each individual life. Nor, on the other hand, can there be a perception of the individual, except as he in turn gives himself in devotion to perfection of the whole. The realization of this constitutes the perfection and bliss of heaven, and only the transgression of this heavenly state into the life on earth can bring in the long prophesied millennium.

Man, in his individual capacity, can no more work out the perfection of his own personal life independent of the help and associative influence of others, than could one of the organs of the human body perform its functions and live its individual life separated from the body. Nevertheless, the individuality of each organ in the body is completely destroyed by a co-ordinating head and supremely in financing factor.—The Christian.

Why there are Tramps.

Under Socialism there would be no tramps. A large number of people are tramps because they cannot get work. A vast number cannot get work that they are able to perform. Some are clerks, or book-keepers, or mechanics, and, having lost their positions, are unable to perform the hard labor of the railroad section hand. Some are tramps because they are discouraged by long hours of laborious toil, with insufficient remuneration. Some have become hardened by the asperities of the world. Some few are dishonest, but the public is not aware of the fact, and gives them a support. Some were born tired, because their mothers labored like galley slaves during gestation, and the unborn foetus has been impregnated with ennui and lassitude, and comes into the world cursed with physical debility. Under Socialism, the working day would be reduced to two hours, and there would be labor for all, with a just compensation, and your tramps would disappear from the nation.—Father McGrady.

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Unhated shall claim the truths ye teach. And follow where your dreams have led. The feet of progress soon shall reach the paths ye solitary tread. Unhated shall sweep away the ignorance that clogs the mind; in being the world a brighter day. And place new gems in Freedom's crown.

The world has suffered, patient, long, beneath the grinding soulless sway of unjust laws and social wrong; but this your light shall sweep away. Shall we of this, first and foremost, shall set the tolling millions free; shall hard the ax of Truth and Right—strike at the wrong, wherever it be.—Robert T. Whitlaw.

Kautsky Makes Comparisons.

In a recent letter to the Philadelphia "Public Ledger," Karl Kautsky, of Berlin says about the Socialist progress in America: "A comparison of our German Socialist party's growth with that of the American Socialist movement up to the present time has not occasioned me to exclaim: America, you are better off."

"We had one great advantage: 'In Germany our struggle produced tangible results immediately. We marched forward from victory to victory, and while we have not achieved so much as we desire, our progress in the last quarter of a century has been enormous when measured historically and not by personal desires.

"Entirely different with you. Your struggle in America meant twenty-five years of endurance at a standstill. It was a struggle not only against the overwhelming power of the enemy, but also against the stupidity of those for whom you have fought and sacrificed.

"To continue the battle and not lose your position required a determination and perseverance possessed by few. At the hour of this writing the election returns for the 4th of November are not yet at hand. Whatever the election results may be and how far they may have remained behind our sanguine expectations, every man coming from America shows that your position is at work in the American proletariat, working mightily, thanks to the lesson which the nurturing propaganda of German Socialists presented on the other side of the Atlantic.

"Great difficulties are yet to be overcome, which are less formidable in Europe. The differences of nationality and the local differences within your own ranks are more important and more difficult to be easily eliminated. The American workman is greater, he is more ready where he has just won, he does not bring immediate results, he is easily persuaded to support the party politician and to repudiate economic development goes forward with

A New Game.

The so-called health food companies of Battle Creek, Mich., are reported to have hit upon a scheme by which they hope to prevent their employees from organizing. These companies propose to

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Gleanings from Busy Socialistic Fields.

Notes from Yankee-land.

The Socialists expect to carry Butte, Mont., in the spring.

Comrade Joh Harriman has left San Francisco and located at Kingman, Arizona.

Wyoming came into line, according to the official count, with 602 votes. Last time only 20 votes.

Comrade Kate O'Hare of Kansas City has been added to the editorial staff of Wilshire's Magazine.

Chicago comrades will hold their city convention on December 21. A full city ticket will be put in the field.

The official vote of New York state shows that Hanford, for governor, received 23,400. The S. L. P. vote was 15,886.

A city central committee has been formed at Seattle, the number of local branches now being sufficiently numerous to warrant such a step.

The Erie Socialists and Laborites are still talking of a daily paper to counteract the lies circulated against Labor's interests by the local capitalist sheets.

Comrade Frederic O. McCartney will introduce a bill in the Massachusetts Legislature memorializing Congress for the national ownership of the coal mines.

Comrade James S. Roche, assistant to Leon Greenbaum, has been elected a member of the local quorum at St. Louis, to succeed Comrade Hildebrand, resigned.

Comrade Guy H. Lockwood of Minnesota has identified himself with the Mills correspondence school. A magazine of lessons, called the Socialist Teacher, will be issued.

Are you as a comrade making the most of your opportunities? Are you letting your Herald lie around where no one can see them? Are you getting a handle for distribution each week? If not, why not?

The students at the Wisconsin State University at Madison have formed a Socialist club under the auspices of the Social Democratic party. Comrade Simmons of Chicago, a former student, will shortly deliver an address.

The official count for the state of Washington gives the Republicans 59,017, the Democrats 32,544 and the Socialists 4739. The Prohibitionists had 1785 and the S. L. P. 834. This was a gain for the Socialists of nearly 3000.

Criticism is being heard in regard to the plan of the St. Louis headquarters in arranging a lecture tour for Comrade John C. Chase of Haverhill, Mass., through the South, especially while certain long standing party debts remain unpaid.

We urge our Socialist Trade Unionists in the cities to bring about a consideration in their central bodies of the plan for yearly conferences of central bodies looking to uniform demands for legislation in the interests of the working population.

The official returns for California give Brower, the Socialist candidate for governor, 9592 votes. This is below the average of the rest of the ticket, which is about 10,500 and gives our party the necessary 3 per cent. to entitle it to official standing.

The local differences in San Francisco, due to the disastrous union of the Socialists and the Union Labor party in the recent election, has caused a district branch 1 to issue a circular in which resolutions calling on Socialists throughout the country to speak out in opposition to the coalition there, in order that the friends of such coalition in San Francisco may be discouraged from further entanglements are printed.

Our Wisconsin comrades who have secured lecture dates for Comrade Carl Thompson are to be congratulated. They are casting bread on the waters that will bring them surprising returns, as this remarkable campaigner comes fresh from his triumphs in Montana and other Western states and is invincible. The special value of the Thompson lectures, outside of the treat they provide comrades themselves, is in the unusual chance they afford of bringing strangers into the range of Socialistic eloquence and logic. This latter point should be made the most of.

Comrade Walter Thomas Mills has contributed an article to the international Socialist Review defending state autonomy from the aspirations cast on it by the St. Louis quorum and ridiculing the idea of holding a national convention. He holds that those best quali-

fied to manage party work in a given locality are the members in that locality themselves, a rule from a national headquarters amounting at the least to a blundering interference. "The duty of the hour is to make 100,000 more Socialists," he says, and "100 delegates in a national convention." Hear, Hear!

The official count in Missouri gives the Republicans 225,397, the Democrats 273,081, the Socialists 5335, the Prohibitionists 4945 and the Public Ownership party 3358. The S. L. P. tagged in behind with a vote of 989. From these figures it appears that our party fell back from the vote in 1900 to the tune of 793 votes. Judging from this result it would seem as if Missouri was in need of more state autonomy and less desire for absolutism on the part of the national headquarters.

In an otherwise meritorious article in favor of state autonomy Comrade Critchlow of Ohio says, in the Seattle Socialist: "State autonomy does not mean that Wisconsin can refuse the national organization a list of their state local branches; that Kansas can abolish the dues paying system," etc. Probably Comrade Critchlow is not aware that there was an express understanding on the floor of the Indianapolis convention that each state was to have exclusive right to its lists, etc., and that under no pretext was the national headquarters to get possession of books and lists. Nor does he know, probably, that apparent efforts were made to disrupt the movement in Wisconsin which made it imperative that Secretary Greenbaum's demand for the state list be denied. That the campaign to break down state autonomy fell through is in no small share due to Wisconsin's action in defending its rights in this direction and to the results of the recent election. Even then, efforts were made from St. Louis to send speakers into the state without conferring with and even in spite of the wishes of the state organization.

Wisconsin Notes.

Kenosha will have Edwards on the 12, 13 and 14 of January, and Thompson for three nights also.

We have Comrade Thompson billed for nine days in Milwaukee.

The Eleventh ward of Milwaukee is arranging a course of lectures. Funny how these Socialists can't stop campaigning after election.

Monroe has been stirred up by a visit of Prof. Ely, and is securing the cooperation of the ladies of the town in its propaganda work.

Port Washington came into line at the last minute in making up the dates for this month. Also there was a new charter made out with the name of Port Washington inserted recently.

The agitator spoke at Plymouth last week Thursday, on "Socialism and the City," and had a good audience in spite of the fact that there were four other public gatherings in town that night. Many Republicans were out.

Fourteen new branches since the first of November is the story so far. Wonder if we can keep up that gait. We can if the comrades in the state will help. That will mean that we will need in shape for about 50,000 votes two years from now if we go on. Still 'em up, comrades.

Strange, isn't it? how the election re-figures themselves seem to be making Socialists. Our work counts both before and after the election.

Pond du Lac comrades promised to have a branch organized and going by the time of the next issue, and we have no doubt they have kept their promise.

Sheboygan is going to have a week of Socialist revival meetings with Carl D. Thompson for the revivalist! Meetings will begin at Born's hall and go to the various parts of the city during the week, with one meeting at Sheboygan Falls, and then a final roundup at Born's hall. We are sure there will be many converts.

About three hundred people turned out to hear Comrade Gaylord's address in Plymouth Church, on last Sunday evening, in which he showed the essential harmony of the aim of Socialism and Religion. Dr. Titsworth is to be commended for his evident spirit of fairness, in opening his pulpit to a Socialist speaker, so soon after having himself spoken in criticism of it.

Comrade Debs has just concluded a lecture tour through Iowa, Michigan and Ohio, with crowded houses everywhere.

Across the Herring Pond.

Swedish Socialists have doubled their parliamentary representation.

Glasgow, Scotland, has made a profit of \$2710 on the year's working of its municipal telephone system.

Two councilmen were elected by the Socialists in Schmoellu and two in Eiseu-berg, Germany.

Spain has 27 Socialist municipal offices in 13 towns, one Socialist review, 11 weekly and 2 fortnightly papers.

The Socialists have 34 members in the Belgian Parliament. They have a Socialist majority in 57 communities.

The Socialist party of Norway has 150 Socialist councilmen. The Common Council of Christiania, the capital of Norway, has 14 Socialist members.

There are municipal tailor shops in Berne, Switzerland. They were established to abolish home working rooms.

The French Chamber of Deputies has passed a bill forbidding public and private employment of more than six days a week.

In Moscow, recently, two under officers were arrested, charged with carrying on revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers.

The Italian Socialists of Milan have taken a stand against duelling and will henceforth expel duelists from the party.

The Hon. M. Jacobsen, Radical member of the German Reichstag from Schleswig-Eckeraerde, has resigned on account of becoming a Social Democrat.

There are 58 Socialists in the German Parliament, 42 Socialists in the State Legislatures, and about 1000 Socialists holding municipal offices. In Saxony alone there are 741. The German Socialist press consist of 83 periodicals; 54 are daily journals.

The work houses in England are overcrowded. At Hartlepool the stress is so great that many must sleep on the floor. At Newcastle the trade union officials estimate that 14,000 men are out of employment. The high price of coal makes matters worse.

The government of Germany is making preparations to combat the growth of Social Democracy and its chance of greatly increasing its representation in the Reichstag at the next election. A government newspaper is one of the means being resorted to to "educate" the people.

To Wisconsin Branches.

In the interests of the work throughout the state as a whole, we want to ask of the comrades in all the branches, and for that matter, in all places where there are Socialists in Wisconsin, that they correspond with our state secretary or the state organizer before making dates for lectures on Socialism.

The reason for this is twofold. In the first place, the state headquarters are constantly planning now to send speakers throughout the state, and can make arrangements to send any speaker at less expense to the branches or comrades, and with greater efficiency, to movement as a whole by making all dates through the headquarters office.

The single item of railway fare alone will count up a considerable saving, which will go for the benefit either of the points engaging speakers or of the state lecture bureau, to help out weak points.

In the second place, not all speakers on Socialism are desirable. There are plenty of good speakers to be had, when the comrades are ready to have them come; but there are also some who are either poorly informed on the subject and likely hence to be misleading in their statements. Others there are whose spirit is bitter, who antagonize people instead of leading them into sympathy with the movement of Socialism.

For these reasons, we urge the comrades in all places, before making any engagements for Socialist speakers, to advise this office and see whether some other speaker equally as good or better is not being planned for about that same time in your locality; or whether perhaps we are not planning to have the same speaker later, on some arrangement that will be more advantageous to the work of the state as a whole.

We invite the correspondence of the branches and comrades in this matter, and are always ready to answer questions.

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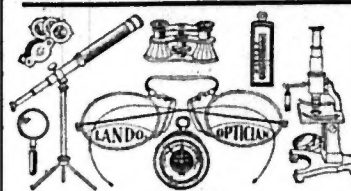
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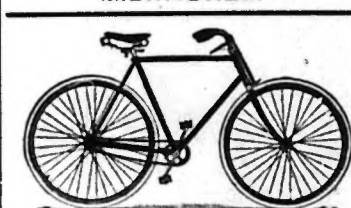
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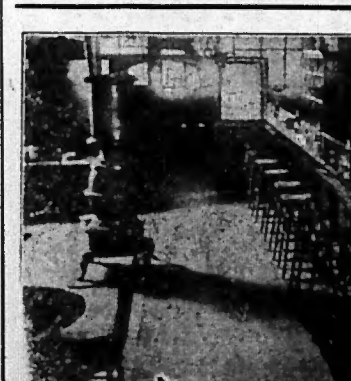
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From The Mail Bag.

Moore, Wis., Dec. 13.—Editor Herald: Prof. Ely lectured here last night and while we Socialists enjoyed the lecture he stopped short where the logical conclusion of his lecture would lead him in Socialism. He traced the development of mankind through the ages through the darkest economic stages to the trust era and ended up with: "We are going to have government ownership of all natural monopolies such as railroads, telegraphs, coal mines, etc. He did not make it clear, however, why a railroad should be a natural monopoly any more than a large department store with enormous capital, and we asked him information on the subject after the lecture, also what he would do with the unemployed men who are left by the trust method of production and distribution, which he evaded by saying that it would take too long to explain it. Now we want to speak to comrades who are left off and will try and make arrangements with the Women's Club whereby we will furnish the lecturer if they will furnish the audience and the hall. As they are to take up Socialism next month, I think it will be to their benefit to have Socialism explained from our standpoint.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.
Thickens.—The work of Zola that most endeared him to the Socialists is undoubtedly his story called Germinel, or Nana's Brother. It is well worth reading, especially now when coal strikes abound.

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